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AMERICAN'S DEFENCE

1933

OF HIS

GOVERNMENT,

In an Appeal to the

Common Sense of the Nations of Europe.

BY

ARTHUR J. BEAUMONT,

Citizen of the United States of North America.

αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ καλουμένη πόλις καὶ ἡ κοινωνία ἡ πολιτικὴ

"ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS."

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WHENEVER a Nation of Europe, struggling for freedom, appeals to the example of the United States of North America, to prove that Liberty and Equality are not utopian, but as much capable of enjoyment by the people *in practice*, as they are the undoubted right of the people *in theory*, a crowd of fallacies are spouted forth by the PEOPLE-DELUERS, in order persuade their fellowmen to remain Slaves to misrule—unresisting—willing Slaves.

The herd of advocates for Constitutional corruption in France or in England—the VILLEMAINS and PEELS alike invoke the same fallacies, and the rulers of other countries anxiously cite the deceptions of the Statesmen of the first amongst European Nations as authority for further delusion;—these fallacies are almost always successful—they are built upon misrepresentation, and mankind hitherto has been prone to belief without enquiry.

The absurdities lately spoken of the Government of my Country, in the Chambers of France and in the Parliament of England, originated possibly from wilful desire to misrepresent,—possibly from utter ignorance of the principles of our Constitution,—probably from delusion and ignorance combined. To refute these misrepresentations and correct these misconceptions, but a few plain words are needful. (q)

THE principle upon which reposes the whole fabric of Government raised by the Citizens inhabiting the United States of North America, is, that man is naturally free, equal, and destined to be happy.*

“Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of this end, it is, they maintain, the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.”

To those who argue for the natural inequality of man, I do not address the present Work, they will find the subject treated elsewhere. To those who assert that we are destined to be wretched and to err, I think it unnecessary to reply. My design is, to take a rapid view of the system adopted by the American Legislators; to state its advantages, and candidly point out whatever may appear defective,—to answer every reasonable objection, and to refute those fatal sophisms, which, armed with the authority of respected names, still arrest the progress of improvement, justify manifest absurdities, and consecrate the most flagrant abuses.

With the diplomacy of tyrants, priests, and slaves;—with the fears of recreant Nations, lest their neighbours should take offence at their seeking their own good, I have nothing to do; I address myself to those only, who, considering that every State is best qualified and fully entitled to chuse its own Government, and provide for its own exigencies, refer to the tribunal of reason for that decision, which they have the courage to defend at the hazard of their lives.

*American Declaration of Independence.

The population of the United States of North America, amounts to about thirteen millions. Its territory is divided into States, each of which has a separate Government of its own, which it may modify and change at will, without requiring the concurrence or sanction of any *other*, provided the terms of the federative constitution be not violated.

By this Constitution it is provided,* that "there shall be elected a Senate, and House of Representatives; the first composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years, each Senator having one vote :—the second, composed of Members, chosen every second year by the PEOPLE OF THE SEVERAL STATES."

"The number of Representatives is not to exceed one for every thirty thousand persons, but each State is to have, at least, one Representative."

"The House of Representatives has the sole power of impeachment. The Senate, the sole power to try all impeachments; judgment in cases of impeachment is not to extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted, is nevertheless, liable, and subject to, indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to Law."

"The Senate and House of Representatives compose the Congress, in which are vested all the Legislative powers granted in the Constitution of the United States."

By an amendment to the Constitution it was decreed, that "Congress shall make no Law respecting the establishment of Religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

"The Congress is to assemble at least once in every year, and such Meeting is to be on the first Monday in December, *unless they shall*, by Law, appoint a different day."

"The Congress has power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; (but all duties, imports and excises, must be uniform throughout the United States: to borrow money on the credit of the United States): to regulate commerce with foreign Nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes: to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform

*Dated the 17th September, 1777.

“ laws on the subject of bankruptcy, throughout the United States : to
 “ coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix
 “ the standard of weights and measures : to provide for the punishment
 “ of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States :
 “ to establish post offices and post roads : to promote the progress of
 “ science and useful arts, by securing, for limited terms, to authors and
 “ inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries :
 “ to constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court : to define
 “ and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences
 “ against the law of Nations : to declare war, grant letters of marque
 “ and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water :
 “ to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use
 “ shall be for a longer term than two years : to provide and maintain a
 “ navy : to make rules for the government and regulations of the land
 “ and naval forces : to provide for calling forth the militia : to execute
 “ the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions : to
 “ provide for organising, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for
 “ governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the
 “ United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment
 “ of the Officers, and the authority of training the militia according to
 “ the discipline prescribed by Congress : to exercise exclusive legislation
 “ in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles
 “ square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of
 “ Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States ; and to
 “ exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the
 “ legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of
 “ forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings :
 “ and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying
 “ into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by
 “ this constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.”

By the second Article of the Constitution, it is provided, “ that the
 “ executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States
 “ of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years,
 “ and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term,
 “ be elected as follows :—

“ Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof
 “ may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators
 “ and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the
 “ Congress ; but no Senator, or Representative, or person holding an
 “ office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an
 “ Elector.”

The clause settling the mode of electing the President and Vice President having been annulled, the Twelfth Amendment, which was proposed at the first session of

the eighth Congress, was adopted by the constitutional number of States, in the year 1804, according to a public notice by the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of September, 1804. This Amendment provides, that

“ The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot
 “ for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an
 “ inhabitant of the same State with themselves ; they shall name in their
 “ ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the
 “ person voted for as Vice President ; and they shall make distinct lists
 “ of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice
 “ President, and of the number of votes for each ; which lists they shall
 “ sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the Government
 “ of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate ; the Pre-
 “ sident of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of
 “ Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be
 “ counted ; the person having the greatest number of votes for President,
 “ if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed,
 “ and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the
 “ highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as
 “ President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by
 “ ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall
 “ be taken by States, the Representation of each State having one vote ;
 “ a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a Member, or Members, from
 “ two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be neces-
 “ sary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose
 “ a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them,
 “ before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice Presi-
 “ dent shall act as President, as in the case of death, or other constitu-
 “ tional disability of the President.”

“ The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President,
 “ shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole
 “ number of electors appointed ; and if no person have a majority, then
 “ from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the
 “ Vice President ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds
 “ of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number
 “ shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineli-
 “ gible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice Presi-
 “ dent of the United States.”

“ The judicial power of the United States is vested in one Supreme
 “ Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to
 “ time ordain and establish.”

“ All crimes, except cases of impeachment, are tried by Jury.”

“ When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice
 “ is to preside.”

“The President, Vice President, and all the Civil Officers of the United States, are to be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.”

“The Vice President of the United States is President of the Senate, but he has no vote, unless they be equally divided.”

“By Section the ninth, Article the first, of the Constitution, it is provided, that no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any PRESENT, EMOLUMENT, OFFICE, or TITLE of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.” (a)

“No State may enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.”

“No State may, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports, or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, must be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws are subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State may, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.”

It is affirmed by numerous English writers, that the powers of our Congress are too limited. The framers of the Constitution were not ignorant that every political body has naturally a strong tyrannical tendency; they forgot not the thirty tyrants of Athens, nor the Venetian council of forty, nor the Decemviri, nor the Roman Senate itself. They were aware that the safety of the people required that the executive, legislative and judicial powers, should be placed in different hands. There are but few persons I believe, even amongst the most violent enemies of our Institutions, inclined to derive arguments in favour of their opinion, from the conduct pursued by the French convention in 1793. Should experience however

prove it necessary to extend the authority of the American legislative body, the Fifth Article of the Constitution provides,

“ That the Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem
 “ it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the
 “ application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall
 “ call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall
 “ be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when
 “ ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States ; or
 “ by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of
 “ ratification may be proposed by the Congress.”

Such is the basis of the federative Constitution, adopted by our United States. (*b*)

“ In 1812, the public debt of the United States amounted to 45,035,123 dollars ; in 1816, it amounted to 123 millions, having been greatly augmented by the war ; in 1821, it amounted to 89 millions ; the purchase of Florida in 1821, for the sum of five millions, raised it in 1822, to 93 millions and a half : in 1830, it amounted to 48,565,495 dollars.*

According to the estimates at the treasury department the receipts in the treasury during the present year will amount to twenty-four millions one hundred and sixty-one thousand and eighteen dollars, which will exceed, by about three hundred thousand dollars, the estimate presented in the last annual report of the secretary of the treasury. The total expenditure during the year exclusive of public debt, is estimated at thirteen millions seven hundred and forty-two thousand three hundred and eleven dollars, and the payment on account of public debt for the same period will have been eleven millions three hundred and fifty-four thousand, six hundred and thirty dollars, leaving a balance in the treasury, on the first of January, 1831, of four millions eight hundred and nineteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-one dollars.†

* *American Almanac*, for 1831.

† President's Message from New York, *Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 9th, 1830.

*The principal Functionaries actually in Office, with their
Salaries, are—**

	Dollars.
PRESIDENT, Andrew Jackson, <i>Tennessee</i> - - -	25,000
VICE PRESIDENT, John C. Calhoun, <i>South Carolina</i> - -	5,000
SECRETARY OF STATE, Martin Van-Buren, <i>New York</i> -	6,000
SECRETARY OF TREASURY, Samuel D. Ingham, <i>Pensylvania</i>	6,000
SECRETARY OF WAR, John H. Eaton, <i>Tennessee</i> - - -	6,000
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, John Branch, <i>North Carolina</i> -	6,000
POST-MASTER GENERAL, William J. Barry, <i>Kentucky</i> -	6,000
ATTORNEY GENERAL, John Mac P. Berrien, <i>Georgia</i> -	3,500

"The military peace establishment of the United States was reduced by an act of Congress of the 2d of March, 1821, from ten to six thousand men. The law went into operation the same year and it remains unaltered.

The number of Captains in the Navy List is 37, of Masters Commanders 33, of Lieutenants 53." †

The Naval and Military Peace Establishments are certainly small, but our frontiers are defended, our flag respected. We are indeed too weak to massacre our own citizens, to disturb the repose of other states; but we have a population of thirteen millions to protect those rights for which a population of only three millions fought, and fought successfully 50 years ago. Should an overwhelming force arrive, we have powder enough in our magazines to lay in ruins every town, courage and patriotism enough in our hearts to set the match. We shall still have our forests to retire to when all but honor shall have been lost. There at least we shall be free.

. Midst the roar
Of cataracts where nursing Nature smiled,
On infant Washington. Has Earth no more
Such seeds within her breast, or Europe no such shore?

Childe's Harold's Pilgrimage, 4th Canto.

Having now taken a view of the Government as it has existed for upwards of half a century, it may naturally be enquired whether it has answered the end proposed

* *American Almanac.*

† *American Almanac, for 1831.*

by those who framed it. Every American—not the President—not the wealthy class alone—every American will reply that it has—the people are contented and happy, they are free from insurrections, tumults, and revolutions; no state execution has ever taken place: the population which in 1775 did not exceed four millions, is now not less than thirteen—the increase of our numbers far from being a source of inconvenience, misery, and vice, is perceived only in the increased multitude of Ships employed in the American commerce—in large tracts of additional territory taken into cultivation—in numerous works of public utility, undertaken at private expense—in the diminished pressure of public burdens—in the absolute confidence of all classes in the security and stability of the government. The various dissimilar elements of which our society was originally composed, are now blended into one homogeneous mass. An American speaking French in Louisana, sees only a countryman and brother in an American of New York speaking English, in an American of Florida speaking Spanish, or in an American Hern-Huttar, who chuses still to retain his German language. The descendants of Royalists, who would not inhabit the same country with Oliver Cromwell; of Republicans who fled from Charles the Second; Jews and Christians, Infidels and Believers, all agree to differ in religious opinions, and to admit in political questions no revelations but those of experience, no inspirations but those of common sense. We have no Insolent Aristocrat trampling on the honest industrious labourer, no rabble dictating to the Supreme Magistrate, or threatening to (c) pillage the peaceful inhabitants, if they do not immediately conform to their imperious mandates. The fact is, that such a class does not exist among us; the few individuals who violate the laws are sent to houses of correction, where by mild, but decisive

measures, they are transformed into useful Citizens, and sent forth at the expiration of a certain period, with property, instruction, and respectability to *adorn* that society they had previously disgraced.

Such then is the nature of our government, such the advantages enjoyed by those who live under it. Let us now consider the objections raised by the partisans of Monarchy and Aristocracy—of Sinecures and Pensions—of Tithes and *Heavy Taxes*. Our country they tell us, “is but young, she has but the experience of fifty “ years: our institutions may answer at present, but will “ last only a few generations.”* I answer, that we legislate for ourselves, and have not the presumption to dictate to posterity—that after mature deliberation, we have adopted that form of Government which seemed to promise the “ greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number.” We do not pretend to legislate like Menou, to frame laws like those of the Medes and Persians—we propose to bequeath to our offspring our system, such as it is, along with our experience, for them to carry on the great work which their fathers have already so happily begun. I leave it to the objectors to consider whether it be probable, that while Old States are successfully struggling with ancient prejudices, we should adopt the abuses they are throwing off and retrograde as they advance. “Your “ country” (add these extraordinary reasoners,) “can “ afford only a certain measure of subsistence, and your “ population will very soon be more than commensurate “ to it.” This is certainly an argument for increased

* “ Attempts had been made in France, Spain, Portugal, and America, to increase the popular influence; all failed but the last, and “ that had not yet had forty years of trial, and the government was “ already changing from a Republic to a Democracy. Besides, it had “ no established church, nor privileged orders, and land in abundance.”—See one of Sir Robert Peel's *Anti-Reform Speeches*, 1831.

economy, but it is hard to imagine why we should necessarily adopt an expensive form of Government, because we find ourselves straitened, why we should necessarily be profuse because the same quantity of food is to be divided amongst a greater number.

The country becomes inadequate, we shall suppose, to the production of that quantity of corn which is necessary to the maintenance of the inhabitants; it is therefore indispensable it seems to create Peers and Game Laws, that the quantity of land in tillage may be diminished, and fertile acres alienated from the plough to form covers for foxes.* We have still a vast superabundance of territory at home, compared with which the portion already in cultivation is but a fraction. Chemistry and Agriculture are making gigantic progress. Almighty nature is actually forming a new continent in the Pacific Ocean. When our population becomes so numerous as to be burthensome to the country, we shall still have the resource of colonization, not however upon the principles of the English Colonial Department, with its Patronage, its Patent Offices, its Sinécures and Exportation of Criminals, but as conducted by the Ancient Greeks, when the excess of their population settled voluntarily in Gaul, Italy, Asia Minor, and Africa. (*d*)

The doctrine that all States have necessarily a rise, progress, decline, and dissolution, has been repeatedly asserted but never proved. The Empires† of Assyria and Babylon with which we are sometimes entertained, (*e*) if they ever existed at all, were essentially bad and existed too long. (*f*) The founders of the American Government, which I purposely abstain from calling Republican, (because it resembles no republic that ever existed,) con-

* This I have seen done in England.

† I say the EMPIRES and not the CITIES, of whose existence it would be absurd to doubt.

sidering all previous systems as inadequate to procure the end proposed, (the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number,) undertook, as they themselves declared, “a great political experiment.” What I have proposed to demonstrate is, that *the experiment has answered every expectation, and may be tried with equal success in every other country.* If, as is also prophesied, “the Southern States shall one day separate from the North, because one general government will be inconvenient for so extensive a population,” there will then probably be formed two federations instead of one, and another federation of a higher order, between the two, analogous to that which exists between the several States as at present constituted. Hitherto the necessity is far from being felt, and he who should propose the measure would work no other conviction in the minds of his hearers, than that he was himself labouring under some mental infirmity.

When certain English writers complain of the imperfection of our government, because impetuous men use violent expressions at public assemblies, expressions uttered in the warmth of the moment and forgotten by the speakers themselves, almost as soon as pronounced, do those writers mean to insinuate, that from the adoption of a different system, no murmurs are heard in England, no complaints raised in Ireland? would they have us pass the Six Acts* in America, suspend there the Habeas Corpus†, that innocent individuals may be subjected to arbitrary imprisonment, and cruel and unjust privations; that whole families may be brought to bankruptcy and ruin; would they have us torture Ogdens‡, and then make a mockery of their sufferings, or cut down with

* Passed in England, in 1819.

† As in England, in 1817.

‡ “The revered and ruptured Ogden.” Alliteration of Mr. Canning.

troops* a harmless people assembled only to set forth their wrongs. No *perish* first our *constitution* and our *country* itself. If we cannot exist with innocence let us rather *perish* without guilt.

Sometimes we are reminded of the bloodshed attendant upon the election of a King in Poland—a strong argument for not electing a King in Poland, the full force of which we readily admit; but we do not imitate the Poles; we do not elect Polish Kings; (*g*) we admire neither their Monarchy nor Feudal System; neither their Hereditary Peerage, nor Hereditary Bondage: far from proposing to adopt their barbarous institutions for our fellow Citizens, we are struggling to get rid of the last remains of that abominable Negro Slavery which the British Government forced upon us, when we were too weak to resist, otherwise than by expostulation—(*h*) that Slavery of which the same tyrants so frequently avail themselves to throw discredit upon our salutary institutions, with the view of reducing their own brave and generous peasantry, to the brutal level of those wretched and degraded Africans, whose subsequent sojourn amongst us has already raised to the rank of men.

Negro slavery in a *few* of our States, is indeed the heavy reproach brought against the Americans by foreign Nations in general, and the English in particular.

They cannot conceive, and with reason too, that the friends of freedom could ever plead the cause of slavery, in any shape whatever. I shall not stop to relate in *whose* vessels the odious cargoes of human flesh were imported from Africa. I shall not settle the chronology of those acts which rendered the possession of a certain number of slaves necessary for the patenting of land. I shall not enquire how the price of blood paid into English hands

* As at Manchester, in 1821.

was spent: I am aware that it has never been refunded for purposes of emancipation. I shall not dwell upon the insults offered the Legislature of South Carolina, by the British Government, in 1760, for attempting to abolish the trade. I hasten with pleasure to consider the progressive abolition of this nefarious traffic.

"Already, in 1754, the abolition of the slave trade had taken place among the Quakers*, and was soon followed by the general emancipation of the slaves themselves; but the great blow was struck by the *Independence of America*, and the prohibition denounced against the importation of slaves by all the Americans, excepting the Carolinians and Georgians. In England the first application made to Parliament, was by petition, on the 1st of February, 1788, which however had no other effect than to produce an Act, dated the 10th of July, for the better regulating of the slave trade. The honour of the first abolition in *Europe*, belongs to Denmark, but even in England people remained not quiet, and from the 12th of May, 1788, the interests of the negroes found, in the noble Wilberforce, so determined a defender in Parliament, that, after a struggle of *eighteen years*, almost annually renewed, supported for a long time by Fox, and even Pitt himself, and at last, STILL MORE BY CIRCUMSTANCES, their cause finally prevailed."†

* Particularly in Pennsylvania.

† Schon, 1754, Abschaffung des Negerhandels bey den Quäkern; und bald allgemein werdende Freylassungen; man versichert zum Vortheil der Herren. Aber den Hauptstoss gab die Unabhängigkeit Americas, und das Verbot des Negereinführ daselbst. (Mit Ausnahme der Carolinas und Georgiens.)

Erste Gelangung de Sache aus Parleмент durch Bittschriften 1 Feb. 1788, die jedoch nur eine Acte zur bessern Regulirung des Slavenhandels zur Folge hatten 10 Juli. Der Ruhm der Abschaffung blieb in Europa zuerst Dänemark. Aber Auch in England ruhte man nicht: und seit dem 12. May, 1788, fand die Sache der Neger an dem edlen Wilberforce einen so hartnäckigen Vertheidiger im Parlmente, dass er nach 18 jahrigem, fast jährlich erneurtem, Kamps, lange von Fox und selbst von Pitt, und zuletzt noch mehr durch den Drang de Umstände, unterstützt, endlich durchdrang. Acte zur Abschaffung des Slaven handels 10 Juni 1806.

[From Heercens *Europaisch staatsystem*,
Gottingen edition of 1819, page 621.]

However it must not be denied, that the existence of negro-slavery in some of the southern States, mild and modified as it may be, is a foul blot upon the American name otherwise so spotless. The acquiescence of the slaves can only prove their moral degradation. It is the curse of Europe (who forced them on the Colonies) still sitting on a part of our country. Experience has proved, that the interference of the general Government is but an obstacle to the speedy abolition of the system, and tends rather to lessen than increase that abhorrence in which it is almost universally held. Every advantage may however be expected, from the formation of intelligent Societies,¹ which shall endeavour to raise funds for the purposes of emancipation; and study to convince the slave-holders, that forced labour, however paradoxical the assertion may appear, is proved by facts, to be far more expensive than voluntary toil.

With respect to the troubles that take place upon the change of a President, we can only reply, that we never heard of them, and must necessarily refer to those fertile imaginations which gave them birth, to explain how they can possibly exist, consistently with the present mode of election.

When we are told, that the peasant or artizan, having no property of his own, is entitled to no vote in the choice of Representatives, no share, directly, or indirectly, in the administration of Government, we reply, that being naturally free and equal, he is under no obligation to conform to the terms of any social compact entered into by the wealthy, to which he has not been invited to give his assent. He is in no wise bound to obey those laws which he has not contributed to frame; nor can he be justly forced to take a part in the defence of that country which has deprived him of all importance as a man, and condemned him to work as a beast of burden. When a tax

is imposed on his labour devoted to the cultivation of the ungrateful soil, which repays him nothing ;—when his personal liberty is invaded, that his blood may be shed to defend that wealth which is employed to work his degradation and misery, it only remains to confederate with his fellow sufferers against the common oppressors, and, in a revolution, (*i*) regain, by his superior strength and courage, those inalienable rights his ignorance and simplicity had allowed the subtlety and malevolence of his tyrants to usurp. When an American speaks of fighting for his country, he speaks a language which he understands ;—he has a great personal interest at stake,—he has a heavy loss to sustain, should his arms not prevail. But what boots it to a Slavonian serf, whether his Russian or his Polish masters gain the day, if the Ass is to bear the same two panniers still ?

In answer to this we are told, “ that the lower classes in Europe are ignorant, vicious, and corrupt.” If you would have the lower classes less ignorant, less vicious, and less corrupt, degrade their vicious rulers, destroy the baneful example which debauches all classes ; return to them those rights you withhold from them, and unfetter the Press.

“ No,” says the intriguing supple parasite, “ there are too many ambitious men in the European (*j*) nations for the people to be free.” We reply, that we look upon ambition to be in the moral, what tides are in the physical world—necessary to prevent stagnation and corruption ? We have as many ambitious men in America as in France or England ; but to attain the object of their views, they must win the esteem of an enlightened nation by important services ; not look for advancement from the secret intrigues of panders, or the impure embraces of adulterous courtisans.

There are some other objections with respect to the adoption of the American system in Europe, to which it is hard to find an answer, as when we are told, that it suits a country of such extent as the United States, but, that France is too large ! Belgium too small ! That it tends to brutalize and corrupt the people, and is, at the same time, inconsistent with European morals, and adapted only to the grave and austere manners of the Americans. The truth is, that we are naturally neither more virtuous nor vicious than other nations, but such as every other race of men would be under a similar Government—industrious, quiet, and contented ; determined to maintain our freedom to the last drop of our blood, and rather convert our flourishing country into a desert than inhabit it as slaves.

Such are Americans at present ; I am unwilling to recur to events that sullied the honour of a part of our population fifty years ago, but a regard to truth compels me to state, that all the Americans have not always been what they now are,—what they have been rendered by freedom, virtue's eldest sister.

That genius which could “ grasp the lightnings' fiery wing,” that pure and spotless patriotism, which beings of a higher order than humanity might contemplate with admiration, were more, it is true, than adequate to contend with German hirelings from Brunswick and Hesse Cassel, on whose blood the Royal and ducal butchers had set a price ; (k) with excited Africans within, and cruel and relentless Indians without ; with the tyrant of the British Empire, and all his troops and treasure ; with disaffected Irish, Dutch, and Scotch, newly settled in the Colonies ; with ancient prejudices, and the absence of precedent, and previous example justified by success ; with all this a Washington and a Franklin might triumphantly contend, but what hope had they to prevail over treachery and

fraud ; to purify a population corrupted by intrigue and misery. Still they fought undaunted and unwearied in the cause of freedom ! They fought and they prevailed. They knew not how to worship crowns and stars : they bowed not down before an image they themselves had set up : they tarnished not a long life of virtue by pleading in their declining years the cause of Kings. Aristides rendered Athens, Epaminondas, Thebes,* the pride and glory of Greece, they, like the fathers of American Independence, considered not what their nation was, but what it should be ; what, with such leaders, every other would be.

Having now considered the American Government, with all its advantages, and real or imaginary inconveniences, let us next examine what other more beneficial system its adversaries have to offer. I suppose it needless to consider absolute monarchy, as the Bastille has not yet been rebuilt, nor the fashion of iron masks revived. (l)

The French and the British, the only enlightened people of Europe, are determined to be no longer governed like slaves ; no longer bought and bartered like herds of swine. There is, however, still existing, a sect (m) of dreaming rhapsodists,† who translate for us from Stobæus what they are pleased to call passages of extraordinary moral sublimity, representing “ Kings as Sages, upon

*Hujus de virtutibus vitæque satis erit dictum si hoc unum adjunxero quod nemo eat inficiās, Thebas et ante Epaminondam natum et post ejus interitum perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio, contra ea quamdiū ille præfuerit reipublicæ caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi potest unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

“ Cornelius Nepos—Life of Epaminondas.”

Political Writers have established it a maxim, that in contriving any system of Government, and fixing the several CHECKS AND CONTROLS OF THE CONSTITUTION, every man ought to be supposed a *knave*, and to have no other end in all his actions than private interest.

“ HUME’S ESSAYS.”

† Called by the French Doctrinaires,—the English Whigs in fact.

thrones, imitating God," and in fact, differing from him in only a few unessential particulars. It would be an insult to the reader to dwell upon these idle dreams, especially after the formal avowal of Montesquieu, that great partisan of Constitutional Monarchy.

"I know very well," says he "that it is not rare for Princes to be virtuous, but I say, in a Constitutional Monarchy,* it is very difficult for the people to be so. Let us read what the Historians of every period have said concerning the Courts of Monarchs. Let us call to mind the conversations of men of every country upon the miserable character of courtiers. These are not things of speculation, but mournful experience."

"Ambition in idleness, meanness in pride, the desire of getting rich without working, dislike to truth; flattery, treason, perfidy, disregard of all engagements, contempt for the duties of a Citizen, fear of the virtue of the Prince, hope in his weaknesses, and more than all that, the ridicule perpetually cast upon virtue, form, I think, the character of the majority of Courtiers, marked in all places and at all times. Now it is very difficult, that the greater part of the principal persons of a State should be vicious, and their inferiors honest men; that the one should be knaves, and the other consent to be only dupes. If, however, amongst the people there should be found some unfortunate honest man, Cardinal Richelieu in his "Testament Politique," insinuates, that a Monarch ought to take especial care not to make use of him."

Here then is the atrocious tendency of Constitutional Monarchy fairly avowed. It is hard for the subject of a Monarch to be virtuous, since vice is necessary to a King's very existence, and a regard to his Majesty's own safety requires the prescription of common honesty. If the principle from which we set out is right, that "the greatest amount of happiness to the greatest number," should be the object of every social contract, what shall we say of the hardihood of those who recommend to us as the best, that Government, which they admit to be the offspring of vice, and consequently the parent of woe?

* Montesquieu uses *Monarchie* as antithetical to despotism.

† "You ought not to make use of low people, they are too austere and too scrupulous."

With the absolutists I do not pretend to reason. Arguments derived from considerations of general good, would be lost upon Austrians ; or upon Persians, whose Sophi, we learn from Montesquieu, was dethroned because he had not shed sufficient blood. The absolutists often, however, reason correctly, but almost invariably proceed from principles which we do not admit. The partisans of Constitutional Monarchy hold the same general doctrines that we do ; they admit, as well as ourselves, that “ a perfect Government is that which tends to the “ happiness of men.” They admit our principles ;—we insist upon their reasoning logically. We insist upon the preference being given to facts supported by history, and fortified by our own experience. Have the Utopian dreams of those who imagined the system of a non-responsible King, who can do no wrong with responsible Ministers, who shall answer with their lives for his misdeeds, been realized ? France has been now fifteen years a Constitutional Monarchy, of the most recent fabric ; are the people tranquil and happy ? The whole French nation, to a man, will answer, no ! The advocates for this singular scheme, pretend that it is needless for the supreme Magistrate to be, even a reasoning being ; nay, some individuals go so far as to consider talent in this officer rather a disadvantage. If it matters not though the King be imbecile or frantic, because his responsible Ministers afford a sufficient guarantee for his conduct, though he be an infant in the cradle, or a maniac in a house of confinement, because a Regency or Commission may be, and often in practice is formed, for administering the Government without him, why, I ask, should the State be encumbered with so expensive and useless an Officer ! Notwithstanding their inviolability, James the II. of England, and Charles the X. of France, have both been driven from their thrones. Notwithstanding their

responsibility, the heads of Polignac and his colleagues have not fallen. (*n*) It appears then, that this form of Government does not answer the end proposed ; that the expectations of those who framed it have not been realized. We are not secured by Constitutional Monarchy from violent convulsions, civil war, the ascendancy of the rabble, military despotism as a refuge from anarchy. These are not dreams but sad realities, which have taken place in our own days and passed before our own eyes. It is time to lay aside legal fictions and argue like men, to consider experience and reason as superior to the authority of Blackstone and Montesquieu, to decide from facts, not from the hacknied sophisms of Chancellors or Attorney-Generals, of Broughams or Dupins. “ You have forgotten,” reply the admirers of Stars and Garters, of Coronets and Robes of Ermine, of Badges and Bits of Ribbon, “ that Monarchy gives a spur to industry, that “ its splendour sheds dignity upon the whole nation.” Yes, the Mason and the Carpenter build one Palace for the tyrant, instead of a thousand cottages for a mass of houseless wretches—the Blacksmith forges instruments of tillage—the Husbandman subdues the soil, that the dogs and horses of his Majesty may be fed, while the people call in vain for bread—tissues of purple and gold are manufactured to deck the Harlot of the Court, while only squalid rags are left to cover the famine-worn limbs of the freezing peasant. Our industry calls for no such impulse ; freemen require no such disgraceful dignity ; they admire no such guilty splendour. Mankind have been for upwards of two thousand years debating which is the best form of government—the Monarchical, the Oligarchical, or the Democratical, and as in all questions which turn upon vague undefined words and absurd pernicious classifications, they are as far from coming to a conclusion as ever.

In every country but the United States, whatever may be its form of government, a hereditary Aristocracy, recognised by law, still exists.

“ The American Legislators considered that honor worthily obtained, is in its nature a personal thing, and incommunicable to any but those who had some share in obtaining it—that hereditary rank is not only groundless and absurd, but often hurtful to those who hold it, since it is apt to make them proud, disdaining to be employed in useful arts, and thence falling into poverty and all the meanness, servility, and wretchedness attending it, or if to keep up the dignity of the family, estates are entailed entire on the eldest male heir, another pest to industry and improvement of the country is introduced, which will be followed by all the odious mixture of pride and beggary and idleness, that have depopulated and decultivated Spain, occasioning continual extinction of families by the discouragements of marriage and neglect in the improvement of Estates.*

The American Legislator remembered the perpetual dissensions of the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome; the danger into which they repeatedly brought the State, and the necessity the Senate ultimately found for breaking down the hateful barrier: they forgot not the several Republics of Greece, where the two orders were for ever at variance, alternately expelling one another, and calling in the aid of hostile States to restore them when banished, or maintain them in their usurpations. The crimes to which the Ancient Grecian Aristocracy gave rise, are not less calculated to freeze the blood, than the atrocities of the more modern Venetian tyrants.

It is melancholy to see writers of the genius of Montesquieu and Hume, labouring to deceive mankind; misrepresenting historical facts to support particular tenets; sacrificing truth to antithesis, and substituting prejudice and sophism for reason and experience. The Grecian Republics were all bad; Athens in the plenitude of her power was aught but virtuous; her conduct towards the Melians, the Lesbians, and the Corcyreans, covers her

* Franklin.

name with everlasting infamy. The treasure which the allies had removed from Delos to Athens, from respect for the integrity of Aristides, was appropriated to the aggrandisement of that vain city. Her Citizen Soldiers and Sailors, the Heroes of Marathon and Salamis, were first converted into a people of insolent lordlinesses, rioting at the expense of the Nations they robbed, then into a tyrannical rabble, fed by the labors of the slaves, (the only real working class,) and the forced donations of the timorous Aristocrats, who daily bribed their audacious masters not to banish them. If murder, violence, and rapine be virtues, then were the Athenian Republicans, during the Pelopinnesian war, virtuous: it was Aristocracy and slavery, not freedom, as Hume endeavours to prove, that gave rise to the atrocities he details; to those atrocities which render the Grecian Republics so unworthy of the eulogies bestowed upon them by Montesquieu.*

It was Aristocracy and slavery that debauched the Italian manners in the seventeenth century, when the Republican form at length gave place to the Regal, and the simplicity of Citizen Government was at length supplanted by the pomp of Monarchy.

“ During the time of the Republics, (says Sismondi) the Citizens
 “ seeking for no other decoration than the suffrages of their fellow Ci-
 “ tizens, were fearful of exciting their jealousy by ambitious distine-
 “ tions—they neither received nor gave any title—they tortured not
 “ their language to arrive at the most obsequious forms of expression.
 “ The NEW COURTS substituted in every thing *vanity* for *national pride*.
 “ Questions of precedence were all their politics. The rivalry of the
 “ House of Este and the House of Medicis—of the latter and the House
 “ of Savoy, had no other cause than the claim set up by each to take
 “ the lead of the other in those ceremonies in which their Ambassadors

▪ Mr. Hume has collected together in one of his treatises, all the acts of vengeance, all the murders, all the proscriptions, all the punishments, which sullied the finest age of the Republic of Greece; and this calculation confounds imagination and makes humanity shudder.

From the Notes to the Eulogy of Montesquien, by *Villemain*.

" met. The Sovereigns arrogated to themselves new titles successively,
 " at the same time that they also distributed new ones to all their Court.
 " Whilst they themselves passed through all the gradations of *illustris-*
 " *simi* and *eccellentissimi*—of magnificences, highnesses, serene high-
 " nesses, and royal highnesses; they created for their subjects innu-
 " merable patents of marquisses, counts, and knights; they abandoned
 " to them successively the qualifications they had themselves borne, and
 " begun to disdain; these distinctions descended lower and lower in the
 " crowd. Thirty years ago, in writing to a shoemaker, it was neces-
 " sary to address him as '*Molto Illustre*;' but the multiplication of
 " titles had only multiplied discontent and mortification, each indivi-
 " dual instead of what was accorded him considered only what was
 " refused him, and there was no country gentleman, however inconsi-
 " derable he might be—no militia officer, who did not feel himself mor-
 " tally wounded when he was called by mistake '*Chiarissimo ed Ec-*
 " *cellentissimo*,' while he laid claim to the '*Illustrissimo*.' The laws,
 " the manners, example, religion itself, such as it was then practised;
 " tended to substitute in every thing selfishness for every noble impulse,
 " but whilst men were forced to refer every thing to self, they were at
 " the same time deprived of all those enjoyments which they might
 " have found in themselves. The father of a family married to a wife
 " whom he had not chosen, whom he loved not, by whom he was not
 " loved—surrounded by children of whom he knew not whether he was
 " or was not the father—whose education he did not direct—whose love
 " he did not obtain—incessantly entrammed in his family by the pre-
 " sence of the male friend of his wife—separated from a part of his
 " Brothers and Sisters, who were shut up at an early period in con-
 " vents—fatigued by the uselessness of others, whose sole establishment
 " consisted in the plate he was forced to give them at his table—he was
 " regarded by them all as merely the administrator of the patrimony of
 " the family. He alone was responsible for the management of it,
 " whilst all the others, brothers, sisters, wife, and children, entered into
 " a secret league to divert to their own profit the most they could of the
 " common revenue—to enjoy—to place themselves in a state of ease,
 " without caring for the embarrassment in which they placed their chief.
 " But even the head of the family had ceased to be the real proprietor
 " of the patrimonial estate. He had no longer any means of increasing
 " it, whilst the imports, public disasters, and increasing luxury, dimi-
 " nished it incessantly. All the estate he received from his ancestors
 " was entailed in perpetuity. It appertained not to the living genera-
 " tion, but to that which was to be born—the father of a family could
 " neither mortgage, exchange, nor sell. If some youthful imprudenee
 " had occasioned his contracting a debt, his revenues alone were seized
 " for the payment of it, and in the mean time he was forced to contract
 " a new one to live. The obligation that his ancestors had imposed upon
 " him to preserve his fortune, hindered him from ever repairing it. For

“ every unforeseen want he encroached upon the funds set apart to defray the expenses of tillage, the only funds at his disposal; the only funds which should have remained sacred. He ruined his lands because he had not the right to sell them, and numberless families of tenants were victims, along with himself, of his thoughtlessness, of that of his relations, or of the fortuitous calamity which had deranged his fortune.

“ If he sought for honors to escape from the chagrin with which his own family assailed him, he was every moment mortified by the vanity of all who were jealous of *his*. If he wished to enter on a public career, he could succeed only by the arts of intrigue, by adulation and meanness. If he had a suit at law, his good right was compromised by the interminable delays of corrupt law, or sacrificed by the venality of his judges. If he had enemies, his property, his liberty, his life, were at the mercy of secret accusers and arbitrary tribunals. Loving nothing but himself, he found in himself only vexation and care. To divert his attention and forget his sorrows he was forced, in some degree, to follow the universal bent of his nation towards sensual pleasure—he gave himself up to it, and in its intoxication prepared for himself fresh sorrows and fresh remorse.”

The Republics for which Mr. Hume felt such horror, had ceased to exist, yet vice and Aristocracy still reigned triumphant. I am unwilling to multiply quotations, but let the reader who shall be at the trouble of perusing the 82d and 83d chap. of the third book of Thucydides, ask himself (*o*) if the dogma of Montesquieu, that virtue is the Spring of Republics, can in any sense of the word be applied to the Grecian governments.

Montesquieu has at the very commencement of his work been at the pains to define “ *virtue* in a Republic, of which” (he says) “ it is the spring,” to be “ the love of one’s country, that is to say, of equality;” he does not mean, he says, moral virtue. When he tells us, book 3d. chap. 5. that “ it is not rare for princes to be *virtuous*,” does he mean to say, that princes usually love *equality*? When he adds, “ that the love of country tends to *purity of manners*,” does he not in fact assert, that the tendency of all Republics is to make men *virtuous* in our sense of the word? Does he not prove that *moral virtue* is not

the spring of Constitutional Monarchy, because *vice*, in every sense of the term, reigns there triumphant?

Does it become a philosopher to define *virtue* to be sentiment, and honor prejudice? Is it then so true, that the study of law tends to pervert the judgment? Montesquieu complains, that he has been made to say absurdities, because his terms were not understood* while it is plain, that notwithstanding all the praises lavished upon him, he did not understand them himself, unless perhaps this writer intended to deceive, and employed for that nefarious purpose, what Bentham calls the "FALLACY OF CONFUSION." Be it as it may, the idea has gone abroad, that *honor* and Monarchy, *virtue* and Republicanism, (as we understand *honor* and *virtue*, are what the Logicians call relative terms;) and it is this idea which I combat. It is deplorable that men like Hume and Montesquieu should have studied to lead mankind astray. It becomes, at last, a question whether they have not done more real injury by the fallacies to which they have enslaved the human mind, than good by all the discoveries they may be supposed to have made.

I have, as already mentioned, carefully avoided the term Republic, when speaking of the American Government. The dominion of one† of a few‡ of thirty tyrants,§ a convention,|| or a rabble, is not the Government of the

* Avertissement del'Auteur. †Cromwell. ‡Ephori at Sparta. §At Athens.

|| France in 1793. The Governments of South America, to which Sir Robert Peel refers as evidence of the evil tendency of Republics, are in fact military despotisms; and if they do prove any thing, they shew the evils of Monarchy under the *alias* of Republic.

They furnish a good argument against having the Duke of Wellington for Dictator in England, with a Boroughmongering Parliament, but say nothing against the Americans having Citizen Jackson as President of the people, and guided by the people's unbying, and consequently unbought Representatives.

United States. If a condition of anarchy, where the bad alone have the ascendancy, is to be called a Republic, our ISONOMIA* has no title to the name. We have no reign of terror ;—we confound not the equality of rights and laws with that mad principle which places ignorance, presumption, idleness, and vice, on a footing with knowledge, modesty, industry, and merit.

We consider all men as equal, not in talent, experience, and worth ; not as equally deserving our friendship and esteem ; not as equally entitled to public confidence, but as equal in right of admissibility to all places of honour and profit, (except when the terms of the real social contract, to which all have subscribed, shall have been violated) ; as equal in the redress of wrong, according to the measure of the offence, without regard to the rank or fortune of the aggressor, unless perhaps in aggravation of the punishment. We consider the children of the same family as equally entitled to inherit their parents' goods, reserving always to the father that authority over his own offspring which nature gave him. We consider, that to exclude several in favour of one, is unjust in principle and pernicious in practice, as tending to throw a large amount of ill-managed unimproved wealth into the hands of a few tyrannical aristocrats ; to increase poverty, mendicity, and dependance in the mass, and substitute, for a high minded free and happy people, a nation of discontented paupers, and dishonest slaves.

But enough, concerning the virtue of Republics, the honour of Monarchies, and the salutary influence of Aristocracies. The interests of mankind have been too long sacrificed to these disgraceful fallacies. The terms, religion, loyalty, honour, nay, liberty itself, have been too long employed as substitutes for national and universal

* ISONOMIA—Equality of Law. *Thucydides*.

good. Had the system of Government adopted in the United States of America never been carried into execution, he who should propose such a project would be reminded of the Atlantis of Plato and the Utopia of Moore; but the experiment has been tried,—the experiment has succeeded;—the Citizens of the United States of North America are happy and tranquil at home, and at peace with all mankind.

It is only to intrigue and cowardice that our Government appears impracticable elsewhere. One great point has been already gained, the establishment of it in the New World; it remains to extend its application to other States—its principle to the formation of a still more general—more holy bond.

It is time that the expressions stranger (*p*) and enemy should be clean forgotten. Mankind have too long listened to the counsels of vice and folly. We have too long been shedding Brothers blood to gratify the pride of tyrants and advance the interests of hypocrites, parasites, and slaves.

Nature has provided the thundering avalanche of the Alps,—the midnight storm of the ocean,—the deadly simoom of the desert for courage and enterprise to encounter and overcome. She pours forth all her treasures at our feet, and requires from us *but* to be virtuous and to enjoy. It is time to cease from the unhallowed work of slaughter and desolation,—to bury the axe of war under the Olive of peace,—to learn that the interests of each are the interests of all,—to concur with the children of every clime and every colour in forming *one free AND HAPPY FEDERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE EARTH!*

Paris, 12th March, 1831.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

(a) Notwithstanding this plain and positive Declaration, an attempt was made to establish Aristocracy in the United States, of which one of Franklin's Letters gives the following account:—

“What you call the Cincinnati Institution, is *no Institution of our Government*, but a private convention among the Officers of our late army, and so universally disliked by the people, that it is supposed it will be dropped. It was considered as an attempt to establish something like an hereditary rank or nobility. I hold with you that it was wrong; nay, I add, that all descending honours are wrong and absurd; that the honour of virtuous actions appertains only to him that performs them, and is in its nature incommunicable.”

(b) It is needless to offer here in detail the several Constitutions of the different States. I shall confine myself to the outlines of that of Maine, framed the 29th of October, 1819, and which went into operation in 1820.

In this State “the legislative power is vested in a Senate and a House of Representatives; both elected annually by the PEOPLE, on the second Monday in September. These two bodies are together styled *the Legislature of Maine*.”

“The number of Representatives cannot be less than one hundred, nor more than two hundred. A town having 1,500 inhabitants is entitled to send one Representative; having 3,750, two; 6,750, three; 10,500, four; 15,000, five; 20,250, six; 26,250, seven; but no town can ever be entitled to more than seven Representatives.”

“The number of Senators cannot be less than twenty, nor more than thirty-one.”

“The Legislature meets annually on the first Wednesday in January.

“The executive power is vested in a Governor, who is elected annually by the people, on the second Monday in September, and his term of office commences on the first Wednesday in January. A council of seven members is elected annually, on the first Wednesday in January, by joint ballot of the Senators and Representatives, to advise the Governor in the executive part of Government.”

“The right of suffrage is vested in every male citizen of the United States aged twenty-one years, and upwards, (excepting paupers, persons under guardianship, and Indians not taxed) having his residence established in the State for the term of three months next preceding an election; and the elections shall be by written ballot.”

“ The judicial power is vested in a supreme judiciary court, and such
 “ other courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. All
 “ the Judges are appointed by the Governor, with the advice and con-
 “ sent of the council ; and they hold their offices during good behaviour,
 “ but not beyond the age of seventy years.”

(c) At the latter end of February, 1831, the proprietor of the Hôtel de la Paix, at Brussels, was obliged to refuse a room to two delegates of the Saint Simonists, at Paris, because the rabble threatened to pillage the Hôtel if he admitted them. On another occasion, the same *law-givers* instigated, as it would appear by the head of the Police appointed to defend the public tranquillity, turned a Belgian Citizen, by name, De Potter, along with his companions, out of a room where they had formed a Club ; beat one of the Members, and prepared a cord, nails, and a hook, to lengthen, as they said, De Potter, that they “ might do something for the money they had received, especially as De Potter had embraced a religion which allowed a man to have three wives.” The Police piqued itself on observing a strict neutrality. The Belgian people affords the melancholy spectacle of a Nation, which, having been long subject to foreign yoke, has gradually contracted all the vices of its Spanish, Austrian, French, and Dutch masters, without imbibing any of their redeeming virtues. Factions and turbulent ; enslaved, both in mind and body, by superstition and foreign control ; without any rational ideas of national independence and personal liberty ; without courage,—without patriotism,—without honour,—without even a language, (unless we give the name to a species of degraded Dutch) ; presuming, vain, ignorant and cowardly ; stationary, or perhaps retrograde, while other Nations advance, it presents to our view, only the revolting union of extreme ignorance, and the ridiculous affectation of superior talent ; boasting and cowardice ; barbarism and corruption.

Such is the baneful influence of tyranny, in every shape and in every clime, whether in Italy or Greece, in Portugal or Belgium. Such the deadly effect of slavery, to render men unfit and unwilling to be free ; but Greece is awake, and Italy is at length aroused from her long lethargic slumber ; the call of independence is once more heard ;—the Legion and the Phalanx may again become the best and strongest bulwark that liberty can boast. The title of “ *Omnium fortissimi*,” may again be merited by even the Lusitanians and the Belgæ.

(d) See the Speech of the Coreyreans, when pleading against the subsequent oppression of the mother country.

“ Thucydides, Book 1st. cap. 34.”

(e) It is time to forget the nursery stories of Justin and Herodotus, or if we must quote them, to allow them the same authority as the Thousand and One Nights.

(f) Quelle est-elle cette aveugle fatalité qui sans règle et sans lois se joue du sort des mortels ? Quelle est cette nécessité injuste qui confond l'issue des actions et de la prudence, et de la folie.

VOLNEY—“ *Les Ruines*.”

(g) If the Poles desire to succeed in their present struggle, let them publish a Declaration of equal rights, and let alone stars and ribbons. Let them make common cause with all mankind, not boast their ancient line of Kings.

“ Les Nations vous pluraient peut être,

“ Les Rois chrétiens ne vous vengeraient pas.”

“ BERANGER.”

(h) “ From the year 1786, before the conflagration of Saint Domingo could be foreseen,—before the great commotion which shook France, the abolition of the slave trade was a doctrine, a hope, dear to English philanthropists. Pitt appeared at first, cold, silent, reserved; nevertheless he sent the petitions to the Privy Council, and invited the House of Commons to decide, that the *following year* it should consider this great question. The question was indeed of great weight for a commercial Nation, when we consider, that the vessels employed in the English commerce, exported every year from the coast of Africa, nearly *eighty thousand slaves*, and sold them either to the British Colonies, or the foreign Colonists, the Danes, the French, the different Nations, whose plantations impose upon them the necessity of having recourse to this odious supply. Are we to doubt the perfect sincerity of Pitt? Let us reflect a moment. In 1789 he appears to us *still cold, uncertain*, with respect to this great question. His humanity is not *yet awakened*; but three years afterwards, when the *great disaster of Saint Domingo* takes place, his voice it is, which resounds above every other voice. It is *he*, who, in the House of Commons, is full of *sensibility, indignation, eloquence*. It is he, who, more impassioned in the cause of *justice, of liberty, of humanity*, than the orators of the opposition themselves, wills that instantly without adjournment, without delay, the house declare the abolition of this infamous, this odious traffic, which *he* has so long supported.”

“ It was four o'clock in the morning when Pitt addressed the House with an admirable order, a singular precision, an infinite variety of details. In a speech, which lasted two hours, he runs through all the organisation of the Colonial system, he examines the state of the population, the amount of labour, the greater degree of activity connected with free labour, the foreign resources which may afford a useful substitute for the work of slaves, the possibility that population and production may increase at the same time by a system of free cultivation. It is only when all these considerations of political economy, of good social order, of interest well understood, have made an impression on the Assembly, that he abandons himself to the emotions of *justice and sensibility*, which he had so long kept in reserve.”

“ From Villemain's *Course of Literature, Part 4, page 84.*”

I have greatly abridged the original, and suppressed even some of the severest passages, as well as others of a conciliatory character, which only serve to call to mind the Fable of the Countryman and Fox hunted by Hounds.

“ Previous to the existence of any of the West India Colonies, England commenced the slave trade. This traffic was established in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had herself a share in it. Her successor encouraged it by every possible means ; and King William the Third, (by Lord Somers, his Minister) declared that the slave trade was highly beneficial to the Nation.” Numerous Acts of Parliament, from the Reign of King William till within a few years of the Slave Trade Abolition Laws, are to be found in the Statute Book of the British Parliament, encouraging and fostering this traffic ; and when, in 1760, South Carolina (then a British Colony) passed a Law, prohibitory of further importations of slaves into that dependency, Great Britain indignantly rejected the Act, and declared that the slave trade was beneficial and necessary to the mother country : the Governor who sanctioned the Prohibitory Act was reprimanded, and a Circular was sent to all other Governors, warning them against a similar offence ; which however was repeated in 1765, and Jamaica stood forward as the advocate of the black men ; for on the Petition of the inhabitants of that Island, a Bill was twice read in their Legislative Assembly for the purpose of limiting the importation of slaves, when the measure was frustrated by Great Britain, through the Governor, who sent for the Assembly, and told them, that consistently with his instructions, he could not give his assent ; therefore the Bill was dropped, and the slave trade continued. Again, in 1774, the Jamaica Assembly actually passed two Bills to restrict the slave trade, but Great Britain again resisted. Bristol and Liverpool, which are now clamorous for the abolition of slavery itself, then found it suited their interest to petition for the continuation of the importation of our African black brethren, and the matter being referred to the Board of Trade, that Board reported for the continuation of the Slave Trade ; thereupon the Colonies, by the Agent of Jamaica, remonstrated and pleaded against the report on all the grounds of justice and humanity ; but Great Britain, by the mouth of the Earl of Dartmouth, then President of the Board of Trade, answered by the following declaration ; “ We cannot allow the Colonies to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation.” This declaration was made in 1774, and in the same year the Legislature of Massachusetts was reproached with contumacy, and threatened with prorogation for framing an Act to prevent the Importation of Slaves.”

“ Mr. Brougham, in his Work on Colonial Policy, remarking upon the exorbitant influence of the Crown in the Colonies, says, Vol. II. page 27,”

“Accordingly every measure proposed by the Colonial Legislatures that did not meet with the entire concurrence of the British Cabinet, was sure to be rejected in the last instance by the Crown.” “If examples were required, we might,” (continues this author,) “refer to the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in Virginia. A duty on the importation of Negroes had been imposed, amounting to a prohibition. One Assembly, induced by a temporary peculiarity of circumstances, repealed this law, by a Bill which received the immediate sanction of the Crown; but never afterwards could the Royal assent be obtained to a renewal of the duty, although, as we are told by Mr. Jefferson, all manner of expedients were constantly tried for this purpose, by almost every subsequent Assembly that met under the Colonial Government. The very first Assembly that met under the new Constitution, finally prohibited the traffic.”

“The Bahama Colonies alone were successful in abolishing the Slave Trade, (contrary to the wishes of Great Britain) by an annual clause in one of their Money Bills, imposing on the traffic an import duty, amounting to a prohibition. But in order to enforce the then slave-dealing policy of the mother country, her Government provided in the tenures by which lands are held in Jamaica, and in the other British West Indian Islands, that the holders should become proprietors of slaves; inasmuch as the patents by which they hold such lands, require that they should possess a certain number of slaves, in proportion to the extent of their plantations, as by reference to the patents will appear; and it was made an instruction to the Governors of the Colonies, not to assent to any law imposing any duties on the importation of slaves.”

Extract from a Jamaica Petition, 1831. See too Mr. Robert Walsh's able work on this subject.

(i) The political events of *Europe* may be briefly summed up—oppression, complaints, executions, revolutions, massacres, anarchy, ascendancy of the rabble, military despotism. Eternally the same vicious circle.

(j) This argument has also been employed by Montesquieu, but he had himself a *place*—he too whined to a master for food. Aristotle, whose authority is also sometimes cited, dined at the table of Alexander the Great.

(k) See the Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the “Hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassell, Reigning Count of Hanau, &c. signed at Hanau, 5th February, 1776,” and laid before the British House of Commons, 19th February, 1776.

ARTICLE 1st. The most *serene* Prince *yields* to His Britannic Majesty a body of Infantry of 668 men, which shall be at the entire disposition of the King of Great Britain.

ARTICLE 8th. There shall be paid to His Most Serene Highness, under the title of levy money, for each foot soldier *thirty* crowns * banco—the crown reckoned at 53 sols of Holland.

ARTICLE 9th. According to custom *three* wounded men shall be reckoned as one killed—a man killed shall be paid for at the rate of the levy money. If it shall happen that any company of this corps should be entirely ruined or destroyed, the King will pay the expense of the necessary recruits to re-establish this Corps.

ARTICLE 10th. The corps shall take the oath of fidelity to His Britannic Majesty, without prejudice to that they have taken to their Sovereign.

ARTICLE 12th. His Britannic Majesty will grant to the Most Serene Prince, during all the time that this body of troops shall be in the pay of His Majesty, an annual subsidy of 25,050 crowns banco.

(l) We are now told that this mask was of *velvet*!—the reader may remember that Sancho corrects Don Quixote for saying he kept pigs in his infancy, as he looked after geese not pigs—despues algo lom-brecillo.

(m) It is almost necessary to offer an apology to the reader for noticing the frothy tumid declamations of Villemain and Chateaubriand, of two pedantic coxcombs, pledged as it were to praise each other.

(n) I have noticed neither the rebellions in the reigns of George the First and George the Second, nor the division of the British Empire under George the Third, whose irresponsible follies with those of his *responsible* and *rewarded* ministers, forced the Americans to prove how ill-founded is Montesquieu's boast of the stability of Monarchical Authority.

(o) The conclusion is very remarkable,
 οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ,
 καὶ τὸ εὐθεῖς, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετίχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη,
 Vice reigned triumphant, virtue was laughed to scorn and chased away. These disorders arose, as we are told by the historian, from the circumstance that the democratical party in the different states adhered to the Athenian interest, whilst the oligarchical preferred the Lacedemonian.

(p) It is curious to observe the efforts of tyrants and their parasites to set nations at variance with each other, and to render alien and stranger synonymous with traitor and foe, while they labour to detach each member of their own holy alliance from the feelings, interests, and sentiments of the mass over which he presides. The circumstance of a Prince being a foreigner to his people, is a recommendation in the eyes of his fellow despots, for the same reason that the father of a family is unfit to be elected into the society of Jesus.

* Thirty pieces of silver—most serene Judas!

In the United States it is requisite that the President and Vice-President alone should be natives—exclusion goes no further. It is however, to be regretted, that even this exception should still exist; MERITORIOUS SERVICES should always be allowed to outweigh ACCIDENT OF BIRTH.

(9) No rational arguments can convince those *Statesmen*, whose admiration of a system of government, is confessedly in direct proportion to its absurdity. One would almost believe that the following speeches of British Legislators were designed as a burlesque upon Parliamentary Debates.

Extracts from the Lectures in the English House of Commons on the subject of Reform in Parliament.—March, 1831. Times Newspaper.

VISCOUNT MAHON. Can any thing be more ABSURD than that the reigning king, whatever his age, should never be considered an infant; and that James the Second, while attempting to destroy the Constitution, should be considered by law as incapable of doing wrong? Can any thing be more ABSURD than the whole system of our hereditary legislature. Is it not ABSURD that I, being the son of a Peer, should be called upon to decide on questions affecting the whole community; while other persons not so fortunate in their parentage, but who have studied legislation all their lives, should be excluded by the chance of birth, from the power of making laws? Is not the law of primogeniture by which a senseless brute sometimes inherits the WHOLE PROPERTY of the father, to the prejudice of the rest of the family, an anomaly? AND YET THESE ARE ALL LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.*

MR. PEEL. During 150 years the Constitution in its present form has been in force; and I would ask any man who hears me, to declare whether the experience of history has produced any form of government so calculated to promote the happiness, and secure the rights and liberties of a FREE AND ENLIGHTENED PEOPLE. In France, in Spain, in Portugal, in the Netherlands, in every country on the face of the earth, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE UNITED STATES, has the experiment of forming a popular representative government, and of uniting it WITH MONARCHY been tried and HOW, I WOULD AGAIN ASK, HAS IT SUCCEEDED?

In America, the House has been told, that the most beneficial effects of a representative form of government are plainly visible. But I beg to remind the House that there is a wide difference indeed between the circumstances of this country and of America. In the United States the Constitution has not been in existence more than † 40 years. It was not till the year 1779 that the representative part of the American system of government was established; and since that time many important changes, as every body knows, have been made respecting the mode of electing their President. As yet every thing is in uncertainty; for, ever since the first establishment of the government of the United States, it has been undergoing a change. I will not say that it has been deteriorating, for I wish to avoid all invidious phrases, but it has been rapidly undergoing a change from a republic to a mere democracy. The influence of the executive government has been daily becoming less, and more power has consequently been vested in the hands of the people, and yet, with respect to that country, where there is land uncultivated to an extent almost incalculable, where there is no established church, where there are no PRIVILEGED ORDERS, where property exists on a very different tenure from that on which it is held in this country, let not the people of England be deceived, let them not imagine from the example of the United States, that because democracy has succeeded and triumphed there, it will also succeed and triumph here. Must not Cicero! —*** Has not Tacitus! ‡—****

MR. STOWEN. The ministers are forcing the reform on the people. THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND DO NOT WANT IT.§ Under our Constitution all classes are fairly and fully represented. The Aristocracy are told that here is a measure which will make their power and influence more secure than ever; that here is a measure by which the people of England will be LAID ENTIRELY AT THEIR MERCY.

* This is not meant as a philippic against the Constitution; but merely to prove that though the present system of election be absurd, it ought to be maintained because the Constitution is itself founded in absurdity. The Swedish statesman observed, that "little wisdom was required to govern mankind;" it was reserved for an English law-maker to improve on the hint, and discover that a nation was best ruled by absurdity.

† The Chronology of these 40 years would puzzle Mr. Peel, as much as that of the 70 weeks does Dean Prideaux. When do these 40 years begin? Does Mr. Peel date them from 1779?

‡ It is well to remember Cicero and Tacitus and St. Ignatius.

I am willing to put the people out of the question; but let us not quite forget reason, common sense, and truth.

§ Yet a vast number of petitions, (to the amount of some hundreds,) was presented in favour of the Reform Bill.

